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CHAPTER IV

GENERAL SOCIAL CUSTOMS

843 *Birth.*—During pregnancy a woman had to observe carefully certain restrictions. She was not allowed to roam the woods alone for fear of meeting snakes or other animals, the sight of which was believed to forebode ill luck to a pregnant woman. She was not permitted to have dogs or cats around her nor to sleep during the day. Every morning during her pregnancy she had to take a cold bath. Among the restrictions may have been food taboos, but no information on this phase of the subject was obtained.

844 When the time for delivery came, it was the custom for the woman to occupy a small lodge erected especially for her use. None of her male relatives were permitted to be present and her husband was not even permitted to stay at home. He was supposed to travel continually until the child was born, in the belief that by his movements he would help his wife in her delivery. According to one informant the husband had to hunt game, the supposition being that this procedure on his part would cause his wife to have enough milk for the child. This traveling of the husband was called, therefore, "Looking-for-milk." It was considered improper for a woman to cry out during labor pains, and by doing so she subjected herself to the jests of her elder female relatives. The cradle-board was always made before the child was born (pls. 41, *c*, 42, *a*).

[834]

The positions commonly assumed by women in delivery may be described thus: Supported by the arms, which were passed over a pole held in the crotches of two forked sticks driven into the ground; suspended between two stakes; or flat on the back.

The infant's navel string was cut off and sewed into a small bag, which was attached to the head of the cradle-board.

844 607 On the birth of a child the sisters of the husband were supposed to show his wife especial marks of courtesy. They always gave her valuable gifts, such as goods or a pony. They were glad that he had offspring, the people said, and even permitted their brother's wife to give the presents received from them to her own relatives. The presentation of these gifts was called "Cradling-the-infant." Gifts were presented also to the wife's brothers.

[431]

844 562 527 782 Some time after the birth of a child, if a boy, the father always gave a feast to Earthmaker and thanked him.

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and being very careful not to look back toward the grave after they had first started. 764

The same evening the four nights' wake began. The overseer, who was in full charge, had everything prepared. Before the wake formally commenced the chief mourner made a short speech. Then the overseer lighted a pipe and passed it around to all, who took a puff each and returned it to him. Then sweetened water was passed around, of which all partook. The feast followed. Taking on a plate a small portion of all the food to be eaten, the overseer threw it outside for the spirit of the deceased. In the case of a nursling the mother added a small quantity of milk from her breast to the other food on the plate. After the feast the chief mourner made another speech, explaining why the rites were performed and how they had been handed down for many generations. He concluded by thanking the people for all they had done for him. 765 [776] [782]

There was always an abundance of tobacco at a wake. Most of it was given to the warriors, a number of whom were invited, for they played a very important rôle on such an occasion. It was believed that every warrior was in control of the spirit of an enemy he had slain and he was supposed always to be willing to put the spirit at the service of any member of his tribe who had just died, if the proper offerings were made. At the proper time tobacco was given to the warrior, who, rising, narrated his war exploits, at the conclusion of which he ordered the spirit of the enemy he had slain to take charge of the deceased. Then tobacco was given to another warrior, who followed the same procedure, which was continued until midnight. Then most of the people departed to their homes, but some stayed overnight in the lodge in which the wake was held. [431] [276] [775]

The proceedings of the second and third nights of the wake were exactly the same as those of the first, but somewhat longer. The beginning of the ceremony on the fourth night was the same as on the three preceding nights; after a while, however, it deviated in the following manner.

J. F., rising, tells the spirit of the departed the road he is to take in his journey to spirit land, the obstacles he is to meet, and how he is to overcome them. After he has finished the warriors begin to tell some more war exploits, and this continues generally until 3 o'clock in the morning, depending entirely upon the amount of gifts given to the warriors. The gifts generally consist either of 12 pieces of calico each 3 yards, or of beads, or of 12 quarter dollars. The warriors always gamble for these gifts and play the favorite game of the deceased. If a man had died they generally play moccasins; if a woman, hoops. When all the presents have been exhausted, then the relatives of the deceased comb the [775] [431] [525] [524]

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764 184 614 539 During the morning Mrs. R. came in and combed the hair of the deceased's wife and gave her some presents, telling her at the same time that she hoped that she would dry her tears as a sign of appreciation of the gifts. Another person came in in the morning bringing a pair of leggings and a blanket for the deceased. He also brought the casket. While the body of the deceased was being prepared this same person spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. If my nephews will come here and sit near me, I will talk to them.

Then the sons of the deceased came and sat near their mother and sisters and the man continued:

My sister, it is said that it is best for a person not to weep; and that a widow should not mourn too much, for then the people would make fun of her; as well as for the fact that having children she must for their sake look forward to life and live for them. And it is also said that we should keep up this mourning for at least four years. Now there is nothing amusing about what I am going to say (although it may sound so—namely, that we should not cry on such an occasion as to-day, but, on the contrary, keep up a good spirit. I do not mean that I am glad that my brother-in-law is dead. But if you were to weep some one might come in and say that it behooves you more to show him your teeth than your tears. They mean that you should smile.

And again it is said that one should not cry, for when a body is laid in the ground there is no more hope of its ever returning to this earth again. My nephew, the one that had been advising you in your daily affairs, is gone and you are left alone to look after yourself, your little brothers, and your mother; and therefore I want you all to love one another and remember your mother.

While we were eating C. P. came in and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that you all have come here and are comforting this house of mourning. It is good that J. H. has brought a casket and clothing for the deceased and food for the wake. And indeed he has also promised a hog for the feast. I know that he did not do this in order to have some one speak of it in public, but how can I refrain from expressing my thanks? My brother also came with the intention of furnishing some of these things, but inasmuch as J. H. has furnished them beforehand he placed ten dollars in the hands of the wife of the deceased. He did not, however, tell her for what purpose he gave her the money and I therefore take the liberty of telling her that the gift is meant for anything that she may desire to buy. Now, my relatives, this is no time for happiness, but I am glad, nevertheless, that so many have come and I am thankful for what you have done. I greet you all.

[431]

Then the casket was put in the spring wagon and taken to the Winnebago Cemetery. When we got there the casket was lowered into the grave. When this was over, A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. This many of you have followed my son to his last resting place. Further than this place he will not walk in this life. Truly this many of you have felt sorry for him. All the rites that were taught me in this connection I have already performed. I have given the deceased the emblem (i. e., the whittled stick known as *wanaxixiwiwi*) and the material to talk with (the tobacco), so that he may plead for us, his relatives, when he gets to the end of the journey, that we may live the life he fell short of upon this earth, and that he may

[75]

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the setting sun. On your way stands the bolge of Herege'sina, and his fire. Those who have come (the souls of brave men) from the land of the souls to take you back will touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the footprints of the day on the blue sky before you. These footprints represent the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into the places where they have stepped and plant your feet into their footprints, but be careful you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far, you will come into a forest of wa'ke'je' broken by open prairies here and there. Here, in this beautiful country, those souls whose duty it is to gather other souls will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will take you safely home. As you enter the bolge of the Earthmaker you must hand to him the sacrificial offerings. Here the inquiry that took place in the first bolge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then he will say to you, "All that your grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you. Its door will be facing the mid-day sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Inasmuch, then, as our ruler will nod assent and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we now do the same."

At this word all those assembled at the wake shout, *Ho-ha!*

Then a warrior told his war experiences and after thanking the people passed the tobacco to the next warrior, who in turn related his war experiences.

The amount of gifts was then figured out and they tried to arrange matters so that the warriors were through with their stories about midnight. At midnight games were played with the donations as prizes. The gifts generally consisted of twelve 3-yard pieces of calico or money equal to that amount of calico; twelve strings of beads, etc. These were the gifts used as prizes. Other donations of food were made for the four nights' feast. A. W was in charge of the games and he likewise designated what games were to be played. As they generally play the games the deceased was fond of so in this case they played the moccasin game and cards. After the donations were exhausted and the games finished a brave man was called upon to give a war whoop in thankfulness for the sun, and also to all the spirits above and below. Then A. W. greeted and thanked the guests again for coming, and the wake was over.

In olden times the widow was supposed to continue single for four years. She is strongly admonished, nevertheless, not to continue in low spirits, and to consider herself free to act in any way that will make her happy. She is told to play games or dance, or in fact do anything that will make her forget her sorrow, and she is told that no one will hold her conduct against her as disrespectful to the deceased. As this admonition is given to her by the sister or aunt of the deceased's husband, the only people who could properly reproach her—namely, the members of her husband's clan—it has all the more weight. The prohibition of weeping is further strengthened by the fact that it is customary to say that any woman who weeps too profusely at the death of her husband is in reality thinking, in

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From these facts it is quite clear that, so far as the Thunderbird clan is concerned, the prevailing belief as to the relation of the members of the clan to the clan ancestor is but feebly substantiated by the origin myths.

As mentioned before, the chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, although the selection was apparently restricted to certain families. The functions of the chief of the tribe were connected with peace. He could not lead a war party, although, according to some, he could accompany one. His lodge stood either in the center of the village or at the south end, according to which of the two descriptions one cares to accept, and contained a sacred fireplace, around which only members of the Thunderbird clan could sit. This lodge was an asylum for all wrongdoers. No one could be killed there, and a prisoner who succeeded in making his escape to it was spared. Even a dog destined for a sacrifice at the war-bundle feast was freed if he took refuge in it. The Thunderbird chief always acted as intercessor between wrongdoers and their avengers. Even in so extreme a case as the murder of a clansman, he would always attempt a reconciliation by which the life of the murderer might be spared. If necessary, the chief would mortify himself, and with skewers inserted in his back have himself led through the village to the home of the nearest kinspeople of the murdered person.

The chief seems to have had some other miscellaneous functions, the most important of which was, perhaps, his right to prevent an unauthorized war party to depart from the village. If he, as an older man and guardian of peace and the best interests of the tribe, felt that a war party was taking too many risks, he would take his pipe and place it across the path of the one contemplating an unwarranted expedition and thus signify his disapproval. If then the war party chose to go, any mishap was directly chargeable to the leader who disobeyed. Should anyone be killed, the leader was regarded almost in the same light as a willful murderer, and the kinsmen of the deceased warrior could demand redress.

Our main informant for the Thunderbird clan summarized the functions as follows:

> The chief is chosen from one of the "greater" Thunderbird clans[1] and must be a man of well-balanced temper, not easily provoked, and of good habits. The most sacred object he possesses is his pipe. He must be a peacemaker and love all the people in the tribe, the little children included.
>
> If he saw a man, woman, or child passing by, he was to call them in and give them food to eat, for they were his brothers and sisters. All the relatives he has are to look after his possessions and keep him well supplied, for he was supposed to give away things constantly. If any person came to borrow some object from him, he would tell

[1] Subdivided the Thunderbird clans into two groups, the real Thunderbird and the Warrior clans. This latter is indeed not identical with the Thunderbirds who caused the rain and who were quite different from the other Thunderbirds.

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614 173 539 nated, they have heretofore told one another thus. This it is. Whenever one asked about it, they would tell him, but they would never tell him unless he brought some present. Even when they had a child whom they loved very much (and for whom they were accustomed to do everything), even to such a one they would not tell it unless he brought them gifts. Thus they would not even say the least thing about the story of their origin merely because they loved some one. It is really essential to make a gift. And if some one came, carrying a gift, the old man would ask him what he wanted and what he would like to know, as this was not the only thing gifts were made for. Then he would announce his desire. However, he would not be told in public but when he was alone. Then the old man who had the right to tell the origin myth would announce subsequently at some feast that he had told so-and-so the story of the origin of their clan and that if anyone wished to be told of the same he should in the future, when he himself had died, go to this young man and ask him in the proper way. Remember, he would add, that before everything else it is the duty of an individual to try and learn of the origin of his clan.

[343] [347]

"Father," this I give you, a full suit of clothes. This I am giving you." "Thanks, my son. What do you wish? What do you wish to hear?" "Father, what did we originate from?" "My son, you have done well. My son, he who makes the most gifts obtains life therewith." "Well, then, father, you need not tell me now, but later, when I have made a sufficient number of gifts, then you may tell me." "My son, you have spoken well and if you do as you say, you will travel unharmed along the road of life." "Father, these also I give you, some beads and a blanket." "Thanks, my son, it is good. Now, my son, what I told you was true. I did not tell it to you because I coveted anything of yours, but truly because it is true—this, that we must make a sufficient number of presents. Whoever does as you have done will obtain the possibility of a good life for himself." "Now again, father, I give you these gifts. There is enough food for you in it." "My son, you have done well, very well indeed, for the life that I am to give you is holy; and as you know, even if one was loved very much they would not tell him this merely because they loved him, as it is holy." "Father, this I give you as a gift, a horse, as I desire to know what we originated from." "Now, then, my son, you have done well. This is what I meant when I said it is holy. Therefore, my son, you have done well. Come and sit down here. Listen very carefully so that if afterwards anyone should ask you for this story you will be able to tell it well."

[343]

* He is now proceeding to give the dialogue that ensued between the old man and himself when he brought the presents.

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4. To receive the leaders and assistants of the other four bands before the sweat-lodge ritual, and to begin the same. 621 756

5. To begin the ceremony proper.

6. To take part in the main portion of the ceremony proper:

(a) To welcome the four bands.

(b) To lead the candidate to the secret brush and instruct him in certain precepts.

(c) To act as preceptor of the candidate before he is shot with the sacred shell.

(d) To turn the candidate over to the charge of the leaders of the east and north bands.

(e) To relate certain of the myths.

(f) To deliver specific speeches and to perform the actions that constitute the basic ritual of the ceremony proper. This will be discussed later.

The east is known as Those-who-sit-first, Where-the-day-comes-from, Where-the-sun-rises. All these terms are used frequently. The duties of the leader are:

1. To assist the ancestor host in passing upon the eligibility of a candidate.

2. To take part in the following portions of the ceremony proper:

(a) Accompanied by his two assistants, to take part in the brush ritual.

(b) To take charge of the candidate after he has been handed over to him by the ancestor host.

(c) To shoot the sacred shell into the candidate's body.

(d) To relate certain of the myths.

(e) To perform the basic ritual.

The north band is known as Where-the-cold-comes-from. The leader has the same duties as those of the east leader. The myths recited are of course different.

The west band is known as Where-the-sun-goes-down. The leader has the duty of reciting certain myths and performing the basic ritual.

The south band is known as He-who-sits-at-the-end-of-the-road or Where-the-sun-straightens. The duties of the leader are the same as those of the leader of the west band, except that the myths he recites are different.

The distribution of the gifts to the different bands is as follows: 621 756 431
The leader of the east band receives one-half of the number of blankets, the upper half of the new suit worn by the candidate, and one-quarter of the food.

The leader of the north band receives one-half of the blankets, the lower half of the suit, the moccasins, and one-quarter of the food.

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621 The leaders of the west and south bands receive each 3½ yards
756 of calico and a fourth of the food.

●431 The ancestor host receives various gifts of food and tobacco from the leaders of the other bands. He receives his payment from the candidate before the ceremony proper.

756 The candidate is present at the four nights' ceremony of the an-
796 cestor host's band, preliminary to the ceremony proper. At the latter ceremony he sits to the right of the ancestor host's band. He is not dressed in his new suit until after the secret ceremonies in the brush.

302 There are facial decorations distinctive of the different bands:
621 The host's band and the candidate paint a blue circle on each cheek, but its significance is unknown to the writer.

The regalia used are simple and few. They consist of eagle, hawk, squirrel, beaver, and otter-skin bags (pls. 51–53), a drum, gourd rattles, and invitation sticks. The otter-skin bags are always beaded and contain the sacred shell and various medicines. A few red feathers are always inserted in the mouth of the otter-skin bag. The gourds contain buckshot at the present time and are painted with blue finger marks.

Division of the ceremony.—The medicine dance is divided into five well-marked parts. The first part (I) consists of the two nights' preparation preceding the sending out of the invitation sticks. This takes place at the home of the ancestor host in the presence of the members of his band and the candidate. The second part (II) consists of the four nights' preparation preceding the sweat-lodge ritual. Each band has its own four nights' preparation, although that of the ancestor host begins before the others. The third part (III) consists of the rites held in a sweat lodge, specially constructed for this purpose near the medicine lodge, on the morning after the four nights' preparation. The participants are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east, west, north, and south bands, each with his two assistants, and the candidate. The fourth part (IV) consists of the ceremony proper, which in turn must be divided into the night ceremony (*a*) and the day ceremony (*b*). The fifth part (V) consists of the rites held in the brush, at which the secrets of the society are imparted to the candidate. Special guards are placed on all sides of the brush to prevent the intrusion of outsiders. The participants,
[625] besides the candidate, are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east and north bands, each with his two assistants, and all other individuals who have bought the privilege of attending. These ceremonies take place at dawn preceding the day ceremony.

Two feasts and one intermission interrupt the main ceremony. The feasts always take place at the end of the ritual of the east
[621] band—i. e., generally at noon and at midnight. The intermission

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CHAPTER XV

MISCELLANEOUS DANCES

The Hok'ixe're Dance.

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: This is the way in which people used to bring scalps to one another. When a man returns from the warpath with a scalp he leaves it outside of the village and the warriors run out with their clubs and strike it and count coup (just as on the battlefield). As they count coup they call out their names. Then they are told what ceremonial dress they are to wear. They then send a messenger to the person to whom the scalp is to be presented to tell him to select a pole (for the victory dance). He thanks them and says, "It is good." Then the warriors who are returning arrange themselves in a circle around this pole and dance around it. He who has obtained the first war honor leads. 727 [555]

The one to whom they present the scalp thanks the spirits who are in control of war powers and then raising his hand prays to the Sun. Then he sings a song and when that is finished sits down, beats the drum, and sings a dancing song, while the others dance. [782]

Then the owner of the scalp, turning toward the spirits who are in control of war, gives the victory whoop four times. After each whoop all the other people in the lodge strike their mouths with their hands and yell. After the victory whoops have been given all dance the victory dance. [201]

Then the man who has received the scalp lets his sisters, his aunts, and his nieces select the war presents which are always bestowed upon them. With these tied around their necks they dance. Toward evening they finish the victory dance and then all enter the (dancing) lodge. He to whom the scalp is given is the host and he sits down first. Then comes the donor and then in a row the four who have counted coup. [431]

The ceremony begins with songs sung by the host. He first sings two war-bundle songs (*waruxa'p na"xa"*) and then two night songs (*ha"he' na"xa"*). When these are finished the meal is eaten. Before eating, all the animal heads are placed in front of the donor of the scalp and he selects those men with whom he wishes to share them. 727 796

Then the host rises and says, "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all. Our warrior (the donor) will eat together with

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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And a war-bundle owner for the second kettle should be called upon—a kettle offered in connection with him whom we call Great Black Hawk. 796X 539X 782

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle placed for Disease-giver. 776

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the spirit whom they call South Wind.

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the Sun.

Then they also select another man to be in charge of a kettle put on for the Morning Star.[a]

Then the first one who had been called upon for a kettle takes as many pieces of food as there are individuals in his band who eat with him. The second one who had been called upon also takes enough pieces (for his band). 796X 539X 262

Those who are going to eat the head have to wait.[b]

Then all took enough pieces to suffice for their band.

Then they (the attendants) put the pieces of meat in plates and cut them up into small portions. Now all are in readiness for the meal. Only some of those in the lodge are called upon to eat the head. The plate of the others is filled with ordinary cuts (of meat). As many men and women as are present, for that many do they cut up the pieces of meat evenly and place them in the plate.

Only warriors are head eaters. Not to warriors do they give common pieces. Women and men who are not warriors can not take part in this head eating. Only men can take part in the head eating. They would not permit women to eat the head. However, those of the feasters who were warriors and had brought home war trophies would speak a good word for the trophy bearers, their sisters, their neices, and their aunts,[c] and these would be allowed to sit in the midst of the head eaters. The sisters or the aunts, whatever women were allowed to sit among the head eaters, considered it a very great honor. Thus all were encouraged to do. [554 562] [602]

Now (the preparations being finished) all are waiting for the meal and the host gets up and speaks.[d]

"I greet you all. When it (the meat) gets into the plate, then it is the time to try to get the spirit's attention by singing. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you all." (Eating song.)

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[a] In the first division of the ritual seven kettles are prepared; in the second division, four.

[b] The eating of the deer's head is the greatest honor that one can obtain in this ceremony, and only warriors are permitted to take part in it. [554 562]

[c] When a warrior returned from a successful war party with the first war honor, i. e., if he had counted coup first, he was given a wampum necklace, and this he presented to his eldest sister or to the daughters of his father's brother or mother's sister or to his mother's sister.

[d] This is the continuation of his speech that had been interrupted by the preparations for the meal [731]

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
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554 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply
502 seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the
582 Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

431 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and
624 by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints, tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

554 . . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder,"
551 &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of char-
614 acter; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin,
174 and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also
614 states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with"
[114] fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the
[648] Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of
[551] August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere.
[551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kéramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

7; Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§16. *Shows*

*159 About this time we went to the Sioux country on a visit. There were a number of us. While there I was [574] adopted as a friend and given a pony. When I returned [437] to my home I used to ride around on my pony. That fall a number of Winnebago were going to join a show [541] and I decided to go along with them. I was a good dancer. We went to all the large cities of the country.

*159 With us there were two grass widows and after a 213 while I used to go with one of them secretly. This woman used to drink beer. Soon I began to go with the other woman also. They both drank a good deal and often asked me to drink with them, but I always [588] refused. I finally married one of these women, al- [837] though I continued frequenting the other one at the same time. We lived in a tipi. As I said, they both drank beer and gradually I got to drinking it too. Soon I drank a great deal and began to like it. I kept this a secret from my people and told the women to do the same. Finally, however, as I began drinking frequently, a friend of mine found out about it and then the two of us used to drink together. Then the owner of the show discovered that I was drinking. He thought a good deal of me, that my dancing was better than that of the others, and when he learned that

7: Radin E-8 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§23. *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

*159 597 Shortly after this I had to go to Nebraska. It was in connection with a child I once had, a boy who had died when he was two years old. His mother's father then adopted another one in his place. This child belonged to the Menominee tribe. I had to go there for I was the adopted father of the child and he was thus my son, the one who was taking my dead son's place. [431] I gave the boy a horse at the ceremony performed to fill the dead child's place. The ceremony itself was the [796] Sore Eye Dance.[97] The relatives of the mother gave me some beaded bags, two boxes of maple sugar, etc. Before I had started out for Nebraska, when I was still living in Wittenberg, the boy came to me. I was then living with a woman, and she gave me many things that I was to take along with me to Nebraska and for which she hoped I would get horses in return.

*159 When I started, I stopped at Black River Falls. I went to a woman with whom I had once lived, in order to take her along with me, but she refused. I had gone

[515] [97] The Sore Eye Dance, called more correctly the Society-of-those-who-have-been-blessed-by-the-Night-Spirits, is a secret society organized something like that of the Medicine Dance but quite different in object. It is primarily a war ceremony and its nickname of Sore Eye Dance arose out of the fact that it was so frequently given after the return of a successful war party that the people attending it, got sore eyes from staying up so long. [927] [796]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

I Take a Trip to Nebraska

to see her when I was drinking heavily. I therefore had to go on alone. I had my gun with me. I arrived at Nebraska in midsummer. I arrived there very early in the morning, and there I met a man whom I had once known, a person who used to go around a good deal. There were many people present. We sat somewhat on one side, and he and his wife drank with me. I told him what I had done, how I had counted coup on a Pottawattomie, and he shook hands and said that he too had counted coup and that he was going to wear a head ornament. Then they took me to the place where they lived, carrying all my things for me. [159*] [555]

The next day the Nebraska Winnebago were going to celebrate. There was to be a general gathering for a week. The people with whom I was staying joined the others at the gathering. At the gathering itself I met two men whom I knew and who recognized me. They shook hands with me. They were riding in a buggy, and when they left, they took me along. On the road they stopped, and we got out of the buggy and began drinking out of a jug containing four quarts of whisky which we had along with us. I joined them in the drinks. We then went back to the gathering, where I met an uncle of mine. To him I presented my gun, and he was delighted. [529] [293] [431]

The gathering itself was a very large one, and we danced every day. I also prepared myself and took part in the dance and gave away many things. I received in return two ponies, a harness, and a top-buggy. I remained there for some time after the celebration [529] [535] [431]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

most is the fact that they are making fun of you. Quite apart from that, however, I am not used to them." I was speaking quite dishonestly.

I was then staying at my sister's place. She was a peyote follower and had gone on a visit to Oklahoma. After a while she returned. At that time I was staying with a number of women and from them I obtained money. Once I got drunk and was locked up for six days. After my sister returned she and her friends paid more attention to me than ever before. This was particularly true of her husband. I was given horses and a wagon. I was really treated very tenderly. I told them I believed in the peyote because they treated me so nicely. I knew that they did this because they wished me to eat the peyote. I, in my turn, was very kind to them. I thought I was fooling them and they thought they were converting me.

We moved after a while to a place where there was to be a large peyote gathering. I knew that they had arranged for this in order to get me to join. Accordingly I spoke to my younger sister and said, "Sister, I would be quite willing to eat this peyote ordinarily, but I don't like the woman with whom I am living just now and I think I shall leave her. Now I have been given to understand that among you, when married people eat the peyote they will always have to stay together. I shall therefore join you as soon as I have married a woman with whom I wish to stay permanently." Then my brother-in-law came in and my sister told him what I had said and he spoke to me,